

# **ATTACHMENT 1**

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA  
ATLANTA DIVISION**

FAIR FIGHT ACTION, INC., *et al.*,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, *et al.*,

*Defendants.*

Civ. Act. No. 18-cv-5391 (SCJ)

**SUPPLEMENTAL EXPERT REPORT  
OF KENNETH R. MAYER**

## **I. Scope of Assignment**

This report supplements the expert report that I filed on February 18, 2020<sup>1</sup> by updating the analysis to reflect new information about registered Georgia voters as of November 3, 2021. Below, I provide a more extensive analysis of pending registrants who had been flagged as noncitizens on a January 28, 2020 list (the “Pending File”), identifying those who provided the additional documentation required to become fully registered and those who did not and were thus unable to vote.

I could not perform this analysis with the data I had when I filed my February 2020 Expert Report, as the voter file I relied on did not include anyone who registered after December 20, 2019, and the Pending File was dated January 28, 2020. As a result, at the time of my initial report, I was not able to identify anyone in the Pending File who had been moved into active, registered status in the voter file. Comparing the Pending File to a more recent voter file captures potential voters who were in pending status as of January 2020 and subsequently provided the documentation necessary to become fully registered.

The new data I relied on to update my findings in this supplemental report consisted of a file of registered Georgia voters with a last registration date of November 3, 2021. The file contains the unique voter registration number for each individual registrant, which allowed me to replicate the analysis in my February 2020 Expert Report and identify the status of those registrants whose registrations were pending as of January 2020. I performed all of my analysis using Stata/SE for Windows v.17.0.

My analysis would be more expansive if I had access to additional data. A more recent file of voters in pending status would allow me to analyze individuals who registered between the date of the voter file I used in my February 2020 Expert Report and the January 2021 runoff election, as opposed to only voters who were pending as of January 2020. Data on voters who cast provisional ballots in the November 2020 election or January 2021 runoff election would allow me to further assess the effect of the citizenship verification process on individuals who actively attempted to vote.

## **II. Summary of Opinions**

The updated information in this supplemental expert report shows the same pattern I identified in my original report: the Exact Match method of verifying voter information, particularly the use of outdated driver’s license data to flag claimed noncitizens, produces flawed results. The verification process causes citizens who were naturalized to face barriers that native-born citizens escape. And these additional burdens fall disproportionately on African American, Hispanic, and Asian voters.

Moreover, the new analysis shows that the flawed citizenship verification process is a roadblock that many registrants cannot overcome. As explained below, even those registrants flagged for

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<sup>1</sup> Expert Report of Kenneth R. Mayer, *Fair Fight Action, Inc. v. Raffensperger*, Case No. 1:18-cv-5391 (N.D. Ga. Feb. 18, 2020) (“February 2020 Expert Report”).

noncitizenship who were not approved as of November 2021 are likely almost all citizens. Those citizens, the vast majority of whom are voters of color, do not become registered and thus could not vote because of a process known to rely on outdated information and produce errors.

### III. Background and Qualifications

I have a Ph.D. in political science from Yale University, where my graduate training included courses in econometrics and statistics. My undergraduate degree is from the University of California, San Diego, where I majored in political science and minored in applied mathematics. I have been on the faculty of the political science department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison since August 1989. My curriculum vitae is attached to this report as Appendix A.

All publications that I have authored and published in the past ten years appear in my curriculum vitae, attached to this report as appendix A. Those publications include the following peer-reviewed journals: *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Election Law Journal*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Congress and the Presidency*, *Public Administration Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *PS: Political Science and Politics*. I have also published in law reviews, including the *Richmond Law Review*, the *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal*, and the *University of Utah Law Review*. My work on campaign finance has been published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Regulation*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *Richmond Law Review*, the *Democratic Audit of Australia*, and in an edited volume on electoral competitiveness published by the Brookings Institution Press. My research on campaign finance has been cited by the U.S. Government Accountability Office and by legislative research offices in Connecticut and Wisconsin.

My work on election administration has been published in the *Election Law Journal*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Public Administration Review*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *American Politics Research*. I was part of a research group retained by the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board to review their compliance with federal mandates and reporting systems under the Help America Vote Act, and to survey local election officials throughout the state. I serve on the Steering Committee of the Wisconsin Elections Research Center, a unit within the UW-Madison College of Letters and Science. In 2012, I was retained by the United States Department of Justice to analyze data and methods regarding Florida's efforts to identify and remove claimed ineligible noncitizens from the statewide file of registered voters. I am the Principal Investigator of the Multidisciplinary Approach to Redistricting Knowledge Project, a research project to study new ways of analyzing redistricting issues, which includes political scientists, geographers, and computer scientists.

In the past ten years, I have testified as an expert witness in trial or deposition or submitted a report in the following cases:

Federal: *League of Women Voters of Fla., Inc., et al. v. Lee, et al.*, Case No. 4:21-cv-00186-MW-MAF (N.D. Fla. 2021); *Fair Fight Inc., et al. v. True the Vote, Inc., et al.*, Case No. 2:20-CV-00302-SCJ (N.D. Ga. 2021); *Majority Forward, et al. v. Ben Hill Cnty. Bd. of Elections, et al.*, No. 1:20-CV-00266-LAG (M.D. Ga. 2021), *Pearson et al. v. Kemp et*

*al.*, No. 1:20-cv-4809-TCB (N.D. Ga. 2021); *The Andrew Goodman Found. v. Bostelmann*, No. 19-cv-955 (W.D. Wis., 2020); *The New Ga. Project et al. v. Raffensperger et al.* No. 1:20-CV-01986-ELR (N.D. Ga. 2020); *Fair Fight Action, Inc. v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:18-cv-05391-SCJ (N.D. Ga. 2019); *Kumar v. Frisco Indep. Sch. Dist.*, No. 4:19-cv-00284 (E.D. Tex. 2019); *Vaughan v. Lewisville Indep. Sch. Dist.*, No. 4:19-cv-00109 (E.D. Tex. 2019); *Tyson v. Richardson Indep. Sch. Dist.*, No. 3:18-cv-00212 (N.D. Tex. 2018); *Dwight, et al. v. Raffensperger*, No. 1:18-cv-2869-RWS (N.D. Ga. 2018); *League of Women Voters of Mich., et al. v. Johnson*, No. 2:17-cv-14148-ELC-DPH-GJQ (E.D. Mich. 2018); *One Wis. Inst., Inc. v. Thomsen* 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Whitford v. Gill*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Baldus v. Members of Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis. 2012).

State: *League of Women Voters of Ark. et al. v. Thurston, et al.*, Case No. 60CV-21-3138 (5th Circ. Ct., Pulaski Cnty., AR 2021); *Driscoll v. Stapleton*, No. DV 20 0408 (13th Judicial Ct. Yellowstone Cnty., MT 2020); *N.C. All. for Retired Ams., et al. v. N.C. State Bd. of Elections*, No. 20-CVS-8881 (Wake Cnty., NC 2020); *LaRose et al. v. Simon*, No. 62-CV-20-3149 (2d Jud. Dist. Ct., Ramsey Cnty., MN 2020); *Mich. All. for Retired Ams. et al. v. Benson et al.* No. 2020-000108-MM (Mich. Ct. of Claims, 2020); *Priorities U.S.A. et al. v. Missouri, et al.*, No. 18AC-CC00226 (Cir. Ct. of Cole Cnty., MO 2018); *Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP v. Walker*, 851 N.W. 2d 262 (Wis. 2014); *Kenosha Cnty. v. City of Kenosha*, No. 11-CV-1813 (Wis. Cir. Ct., Kenosha Cnty., WI 2011).

Courts consistently have accepted my expert opinions and the bases for those opinions. No court has ever excluded my expert opinion under *Daubert* or any other standard. Courts have cited my expert opinions in their decisions, finding my opinions reliable and persuasive. *See Driscoll v. Stapleton*, No. DV 20 0408 (13th Judicial Ct. Yellowstone Cnty., MT, 2020); *Priorities U.S.A., et al. v. Missouri, et al.*, No. 18AC-CC00226 (Cir. Ct. Cole Cnty., MO 2018); *Whitford v. Gill*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *One Wis. Inst., Inc. v. Thomsen*, 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis. 2016); *Baldus v. Members of Wis. Gov't Accountability Bd.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis. 2012); *Milwaukee Branch of the NAACP v. Walker*, 851 N.W. 2d 262 (Wis. 2014); *Baumgart v. Wendelberger*, No. 01-C-0121, 2002 WL 34127471 (E.D. Wis. May 30, 2002).

#### IV. Citizenship Flags

In my February 2020 Expert Report, I explained the ways in which Georgia's method of verifying citizenship is virtually certain to produce errors by incorrectly classifying citizens as noncitizens.<sup>2</sup> These errors inevitably occur because individuals are flagged for noncitizenship based on outdated records from the Georgia Department of Driver Services (DDS). The reason for inaccurate flags is clear enough: Georgia *requires* that noncitizens wishing to drive must obtain a driver's license within 30 days of establishing residency in the state.<sup>3</sup> When a noncitizen legal resident of Georgia acquires either a driver's license or state identification card, DDS records their noncitizenship status. If that person later naturalizes, however, their DDS

<sup>2</sup> February 2020 Expert Report at 20-22.

<sup>3</sup> Georgia Department of Driver Services, "Information for Non-U.S. Citizens," <https://dds.georgia.gov/information-non-us-citizens> (last visited December 12, 2021).

information does not update unless they self-report their new citizenship status to DDS (which they are not required to do and may have no reason to do before their license expires). When that U.S. citizen goes to register to vote for the first time, Georgia's Exact Match process incorrectly flags them as a noncitizen because of the outdated nature of the DDS information.

Table 5 in my February 2020 Expert Report<sup>4</sup> (shown here as Table 1, with updated Race data from the November 2021 voter file) demonstrates that registrants flagged as noncitizens in the Pending File were disproportionately non-white:

<b>Table 1 – Registrants Flagged as Noncitizens</b>			
<b>Race</b>	<b>Pending File, Citizenship Flag</b>		<b>November 2021 Voter File</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
African American	972	31.6%	29.7%
White non-Hispanic	400	13.0%	52.4%
Hispanic	642	20.9%	3.7%
Asian or Pacific Islander	714	23.2%	2.7%
Other, 2 or more	159	5.2%	2.0%
Unknown	186	6.1%	9.2%
	3,073	100%	100%

The last column in Table 1 shows the demographic composition of the November 2021 voter file. The table shows that registrants of color are disproportionately flagged as noncitizens. Hispanic registrants are overrepresented by a factor of nearly 6 (3.7% of the voter file, but 20.9% of those flagged as noncitizens) and Asian or Pacific Islanders overrepresented by a factor of nearly 9 (2.7% of the voter file, but 23.2% of those flagged as noncitizens). Non-Hispanic white registrants, meanwhile, are *underrepresented* by a factor of 4 (52.4% of the voter file, but 13.0% of those flagged as noncitizens).

The importance of these disparities is magnified by the fact that many of these noncitizenship flags are incorrect and many of these registrants never overcome the administrative burden these flags impose. Table 2 shows the disposition of registrants who were originally placed in pending status because they were flagged as noncitizens:

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<sup>4</sup> February 2020 Expert Report at 21.

Table 2 - Status of Pending Registrants Flagged for Citizenship				
Registrants Flagged for Citizenship in Pending File	Registrants Approved by November 2021	% Approved	Registrants Not Approved by November 2021	% Not Approved
3,073	1,323	43.1%	1,750	56.9%

Overall, 43.1% of registrants flagged as noncitizens in January 2020 had been placed in active status by November 2021 (1,323 of 3,073 registrants). This result demonstrates, by the State's own records, how often the original citizenship flag was demonstrably incorrect, because these registrants provided proof of their citizenship to clear their erroneous citizenship flag. The methods used to verify citizenship, then, had an error rate of *at least* 43.1%.

The true error rate, however, is almost certainly higher than 43.1%. Other states that have previously attempted to rely on driver's license files to identify noncitizen registrants had error rates approaching 100%. In Florida in 2012, for example, state officials claimed that 182,000 noncitizens were registered to vote, based on driver's license records. The process, in fact, had a 99.9% error rate, precisely because naturalized citizens are not required to (and frequently do not) update their information in their driver's license files.<sup>5</sup>

Additional information on the citizenship error rate comes from the Georgia Secretary of State itself. In February 2021, the Secretary of State issued a press release citing 35 cases of potential voting fraud that the State Election Board was referring to the State Attorney General for possible prosecution.<sup>6</sup> The release notes a *single* case of a noncitizen allegedly registering, and it is not clear whether any of the referrals led to a prosecution, let alone a conviction. If it were true that thousands of noncitizens were actually registering to vote in Georgia, one would expect more of these cases – out of the 1,750 registrants whose registrations remained unapproved after more than a year – would have been investigated and prosecuted. In fact, the Secretary of State himself vowed that “[w]hen there is evidence of [election fraud], the people responsible face prosecution.”<sup>7</sup> The far more likely explanation is that few, if any, of these registrants were in fact not citizens, which the State seems to implicitly acknowledge by apparently declining to prosecute these cases.

<sup>5</sup> Rachel Weiner, “Florida’s Voter Purge Explained,” *Washington Post*, June 18, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> *State Election Board Refers Voter Fraud Cases for Prosecution*, GA SECRETARY OF STATE (Feb. 11, 2021), [https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/state\\_election\\_board\\_refers\\_voter\\_fraud\\_cases\\_for\\_prosecution](https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/state_election_board_refers_voter_fraud_cases_for_prosecution); see also Jeremy Turnage, *35 Election Violation Cases Headed to Prosecution, Ga. Secretary of State Says*, WRDW (Feb. 11, 2021), <https://www.wrdw.com/2021/02/11/35-election-violation-cases-headed-to-prosecution-ga-secretary-of-state-says/>.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

It is therefore likely that, because of the Exact Match policy for citizenship, most – perhaps nearly all – of the 1,750 registrants not approved before November 2021 were wrongly disenfranchised and unable to vote in the 2020 primaries and general election, as well as the 2021 runoff election.

And this disenfranchisement again disproportionately fell on minority registrants. Table 3 shows the rate at which registrants flagged for noncitizenship in each demographic group resolved their status by providing verification documentation to election officials.

<b>Table 3 – Rate of Citizenship Flag Activation, November 2021</b>					
<b>Race</b>	<b>Pending, Citizenship Verification</b>	<b>Registration Not Approved by November 2021</b>		<b>Registration Approved by November 2021</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% Not Approved</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>% Approved</b>
African American	972	617	63.5%	355	36.5%
White non-Hispanic	400	179	44.8%	221	55.3%
Hispanic	642	385	60.0%	257	40.0%
Asian or Pacific Islander	714	347	48.6%	367	51.4%
Other, 2 or more	159	102	64.2%	57	35.8%
Unknown	186	120	64.5%	66	35.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,073</b>	<b>1,750</b>	<b>56.9%</b>	<b>1,323</b>	<b>43.1%</b>

Table 3 indicates that of registrants who were flagged for failing citizenship verification, African American and Hispanic registrants were less likely than non-Hispanic white or Asian registrants to ultimately verify their citizenship and become registered voters. Nearly two-thirds of African American registrants and 60% of Hispanic registrants who failed the initial citizenship verification were never placed in active status in the voter file (compared to 45% of non-Hispanic white and 48.6% of Asian registrants).

Indeed, Table 4, which reflects the racial demographics of the 1,750 registrants who did not become fully registered after being flagged for noncitizenship, shows that most of the voters ultimately disenfranchised by the citizenship verification process are voters of color.



<b>Table 4 - Demographics of Registrants Not Able to Verify Citizenship</b>		
<b>Race</b>	<b>Registration Not Approved by November 2021</b>	<b>November 2021 Voter File</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
African American	35.3%	29.7%
White non-Hispanic	10.2%	52.4%
Hispanic	22.0%	3.7%
Asian or Pacific Islander	19.8%	2.7%
Other, 2 or more	5.8%	2.0%
Unknown	6.9%	9.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4 shows that African American and Hispanic registrants comprise 33.4% of registered voters, but 57.3% of pending registrants flagged for noncitizenship whose registrations were not approved as of November 2021. Though non-Hispanic white voters are more than 50% of Georgia's voter file, they are only 10.2% of those excluded from voting because of Georgia's citizenship verification process.

## **V. Conclusions**

In my February 2020 Expert Report, I reached the following conclusions:

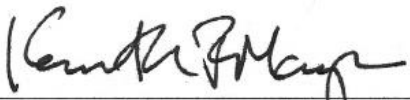
- The Georgia verification process is premised on a flawed methodology known to produce inaccurate results. By requiring exact matching on multiple fields in DDS and Social Security Administration (SSA) data, the verification process guarantees that otherwise qualified voters will be flagged as MIDR (Missing ID Required) because of outdated information and incorrect verification failures. These failures occur even if the failure to match was the result of mistakes by registration officials, or due to errors in the underlying data.
- The use of DDS data to verify citizenship will result in eligible voters being inaccurately flagged as noncitizens, because of outdated information in DDS files.
- No matter how the data are aggregated, the verification process disproportionately affects minority registrants, who are more likely to have their registration placed in pending status; more likely to be flagged as noncitizens; and more likely to be in MIDR status. The rates at which minority

registrants are placed in MIDR, pending, or noncitizen status are up to 10 times higher than the rates for non-Hispanic white registrants.

- The rates at which registrants are placed in MIDR and pending status vary widely by county, suggesting nonuniform implementation of administrative practices. The election administration literature has repeatedly demonstrated that election rules are not applied neutrally, and that discriminatory application against minority voters and registrants is commonplace.
- Invalid and obviously incorrect data values in the voter files – including mistakes that should not be possible – indicate administrative errors and a failure to verify data. To the extent that the verification process relies on these entries, it will result in verification failures that are not the fault of the registrant.
- The data suggest that officials in the Secretary of State's office do not understand their own policies and procedures. These officials could not fully describe the matching process used in verification, and their description of how registrants were moved from pending to active status post-HB 316 did not always match the data in the pending and active files. The training materials I reviewed contain inaccurate and ambiguous information that will likely lead to errors in election administration.<sup>8</sup>

The updated analysis in this report confirms that the verification process continues to impose burdens on protected classes of voters. The citizenship verification process has an error rate of *at least* 43% (based on the number of registrants flagged for noncitizenship who were able to confirm their status by November 2021). The actual error rate is almost certainly higher, and it is likely that most, if not all the 1,750 registrants flagged for noncitizenship and not approved before November 2021 – at least 77% of whom were registrants of color – were wrongly disenfranchised in the 2020 primaries and general election, as well as the 2021 runoff election.

Respectfully submitted,

  
Kenneth R. Mayer, Ph.D.

December 15, 2021

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<sup>8</sup> February 2020 Expert Report at 22-23.

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**Education**

Yale University, Department of Political Science, Ph.D., 1988.  
Yale University, Department of Political Science, M.A., M.Phil., 1987.  
University of California, San Diego, Department of Political Science, B.A., 1982.

**Positions Held**

University of Wisconsin, Madison. Department of Political Science.  
Professor, July 2000-present.  
Associate Professor, June 1996-June 2000.  
Assistant Professor, August 1989-May 1996.  
Fulbright-ANU Distinguished Chair in Political Science, Australian National University (Canberra, ACT), July-December 2006.  
Director, Data and Computation Center, College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, June 1996-September 2003  
Consultant, The RAND Corporation, Washington DC, 1988-1994. Conducted study of acquisition reform, and the effects of acquisition policy on the defense industrial base. Performed computer simulations of U.S. strategic force posture and capabilities.  
Contract Specialist, Naval Air Systems Command, Washington D.C., 1985-1986. Responsible for cost and price analysis, contract negotiation, and contract administration for aerial target missile programs in the \$5 million - \$100 million range.

**Awards**

American Political Science Association, State Politics and Policy Section. Award for best Journal Article Published in the *American Journal of Political Science* in 2014. Awarded for Burden, Canon, Mayer, and Moynihan, "Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout."  
Robert H. Durr Award, from the Midwest Political Science Association, for Best Paper Applying Quantitative Methods to a Substantive Problem Presented at the 2013 Meeting. Awarded for Burden, Canon, Mayer, and Moynihan, "Election Laws and Partisan Gains."  
Leon Epstein Faculty Fellow, College of Letters and Science, 2012-2015  
UW Housing Honored Instructor Award, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018  
Recipient, Jerry J. and Mary M. Cotter Award, College of Letters and Science, 2011-2012  
Alliant Underkofler Excellence in Teaching Award, University of Wisconsin System, 2006  
Pi Sigma Alpha Teaching Award, Fall 2006  
Vilas Associate, 2003-2004, University of Wisconsin-Madison Graduate School.  
2002 Neustadt Award. Awarded by the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association, for the best book published on the American presidency in 2001. Awarded for *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*.  
Lilly Teaching Fellow, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993-1994.  
Interfraternity Council award for Outstanding Teaching, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993.  
Selected as one of the 100 best professors at University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wisconsin Student Association, March 1992.  
Olin Dissertation Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1987-1988

### **Service as an Expert Witness**

1. *League of Women Voters of Arkansas et al. v. Thurston et al.*, Case No. 60CV-21-3138 (5<sup>th</sup> Circ. Ct., Pulaski Cty., AR), election administration (2021).
2. *League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc., et al. v. Lee, et al.*, Case No. 4:21-cv-00186-MW-MAF (N.D. Fla.) voting rights (2021).
3. *Fair Fight Inc., et al. v. True the Vote, Inc., et al.*, Case No. 2:20-CV-00302-SCJ (N.D. GA), election administration (2021).
4. *Majority Forward and Gamliel Warren Turner, Sr. v. Ben Hill County Board of Elections, et al.*, No. 1:20-CV-00266-LAG (M.D. Ga), election administration (2020).
5. *Pearson et al. v. Kemp et al.*, No. 1:20-cv-4809-TCB (N.D. Ga), election administration (2020)
6. *North Carolina Alliance for Retired Americans et al. v. North Carolina State Board of Elections* (Wake Cty., NC), absentee ballots (2020).
7. *LaRose et al. v. Simon*, No. 62-CV-20-3149 (2d Jud. Dist. Ct., Ramsey Cty., MN), absentee ballots (2020).
8. *Michigan Alliance for Retired Americans et al. v. Benson et al.* No 2020-000108-MM (Mich. Court of Claims), absentee ballots (2020).
9. *The New Georgia Project et al. v. Raffensperger et al.* No. 1:20-CV-01986-EL0052 (N.D. Ga.), absentee ballots (2020).
10. *Driscoll v. Stapleton*, No. DV 20 0408 (13<sup>th</sup> Judicial Ct. Yellowstone Cty., MT), absentee ballots (2020).
11. *The Andrew Goodman Foundation v. Bostelmann*, No. 19-cv-955 (W.D. Wisc.), voter ID (2020).
12. *Kumar v. Frisco Independent School District et al.*, No.4:19-cv-00284 (E.D. Tex.), voting rights (2019).
13. *Fair Fight Action v. Raffensperger* No. 1:18-cv-05391-SCJ (N.D. Ga.), voting rights (2019)
14. *Vaughan v. Lewisville Independent School District*, No. 4:19-cv-00109 (E.D. Texas), voting rights (2019).
15. *Dwight et al. v. Raffensperger*, No: 1:18-cv-2869-RWS (N.D. Ga.), redistricting, voting rights (2018).
16. *Priorities U.S.A.et al. v. Missouri et al.*, No. 19AC-CC00226 (Cir. Ct. of Cole Cty., MO), voter ID (2018).
17. *Tyson v. Richardson Independent School District*, No. 3:18-cv-00212 (N.D. Texas), voting rights (2018).
18. *League of Women Voters of Michigan, et al. v. Johnson*, No. 2:17-cv-14148-DPH-SDD (S.D. Mich.), redistricting (2018).
19. *One Wisconsin Institute, Inc., et al. v. Nichol, et al.*, 198 F. Supp. 3d 896 (W.D. Wis.), voting rights (2016).
20. *Whitford et al. v. Gill et al*, 218 F. Supp. 3d 837, (W.D. Wis.), redistricting (2016).
21. *Milwaukee NAACP et al. v. Scott Walker et. al*, N.W.2d 262 (Wis. 2014), voter ID (2012).
22. *Baldus et al. v. Brennan et al.*, 849 F. Supp. 2d 840 (E.D. Wis.), redistricting, voting rights (2012).
23. *County of Kenosha v. City of Kenosha*, No. 22-CV-1813 (Wis. Cir. Ct., Kenosha Cty.) municipal redistricting (2011).
24. *McComish et al. v Brewer et al.*. 2010 WL 2292213 (D. Ariz.), campaign finance (2009).
25. *Baumgart et al. v. Wendelberger et al.*, 2002 WL 34127471 (E.D. Wis.), redistricting (2002).

### **Grants**

“A Multidisciplinary Approach for Redistricting Knowledge.” Principal Investigator. Co-PIs Adeline Lo (UW Madison, Department of Political Science), Song Gao (UW Madison, Department of Geography), and Barton Miller and Jin-Yi Cai (UW Madison, Department of Computer Sciences). University of Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF), and UW Madison

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Education. July 1, 2020-June 30, 2022. \$410,711.

“Analyzing Nonvoting and the Student Voting Experience in Wisconsin.” Dane County (WI) Clerk, \$44,157. November 2016-December 2017. Additional support (\$30,000) provided by the Office of the Chancellor, UW-Madison.

Campaign Finance Task Force, Stanford University and New York University, \$36,585. September 2016-August 2017.

Participant and Board Member, 2016 White House Transition Project, PIs Martha Joynt Kumar (Towson State University) and Terry Sullivan (University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill).

“How do You Know? The Structure of Presidential Advising and Error Correction in the White House.” Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin, \$18,941. July 1, 2015-June 30, 2016.

“Study and Recommendations for the Government Accountability Board Chief Inspectors’ Statements and Election Incident Report Logs.” \$43,234. Co-PI. With Barry C. Burden (PI), David T. Canon (co-PI), and Donald Moynihan (co-PI). October 2011-May 2012.

“Public Funding in Connecticut Legislative Elections.” Open Society Institute. September 2009-December 2010. \$55,000.

“Early Voting and Same Day Registration in Wisconsin and Beyond.” Co-PI. October 2008- September 2009. Pew Charitable Trusts. \$49,400. With Barry C. Burden (PI), David T. Canon (Co-PI), Kevin J. Kennedy (Co-PI), and Donald P. Moynihan (Co-PI).

City of Madison, Blue Ribbon Commission on Clean Elections. Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$16,188. January-July 2008.

“Wisconsin Campaign Finance Project: Public Funding in Connecticut State Legislative Elections.” JEHT Foundation, New York, NY. \$84,735. November 2006-November 2007.

“Does Public Election Funding Change Public Policy? Evaluating the State of Knowledge.” JEHT Foundation, New York, NY. \$42,291. October 2005-April 2006.

“Wisconsin Campaign Finance Project: Disseminating Data to the Academic, Reform, and Policy Communities.” Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$20,900. September 2005- August 2006.

“Enhancing Electoral Competition: Do Public Funding Programs for State and Local Elections Work?” Smith Richardson Foundation, Westport, CT. \$129,611. December 2002-June 2005

WebWorks Grant (implementation of web-based instructional technologies), Division of Information Technology, UW-Madison, \$1,000. November 1999.

“Issue Advocacy in Wisconsin during the 1998 Election.” Joyce Foundation, Chicago, IL. \$15,499. April 1999.

Instructional Technology in the Multimedia Environment (IN-TIME) grant, Learning Support Services, University of Wisconsin. \$5,000. March 1997.

“Public Financing and Electoral Competitiveness in the Minnesota State Legislature.” Citizens’ Research Foundation, Los Angeles, CA, \$2,000. May-November 1996.

“The Reach of Presidential Power: Policy Making Through Executive Orders.” National Science Foundation (SBR-9511444), \$60,004. September 1, 1995-August 31, 1998. Graduate School Research Committee, University of Wisconsin, \$21,965. Additional support provided by the Gerald R. Ford Library Foundation, the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute, and the Harry S. Truman Library Foundation.

The Future of the Combat Aircraft Industrial Base.” Changing Security Environment Project, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University (with Ethan B. Kapstein). June 1993-January 1995. \$15,000.

Hilldale Student Faculty Research Grant, College of Letters and Sciences, University of Wisconsin (with John M. Wood). 1992. \$1,000 (\$3,000 award to student)

“Electoral Cycles in Federal Government Prime Contract Awards” March 1992 – February 1995. National Science Foundation (SES-9121931), \$74,216. Graduate School Research Committee at the University of Wisconsin, \$2,600. MacArthur Foundation, \$2,500.

C-SPAN In the Classroom Faculty Development Grant, 1991. \$500

### **Professional and Public Service**

Education and Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, 2008-2014. Acting Chair, Summer 2011. Chair, May 2012- June 2014.

Participant, U.S. Public Speaker Grant Program. United States Department of State (nationwide speaking tour in Australia, May 11-June 2, 2012).

Expert Consultant, Voces de la Frontera. Milwaukee Aldermanic redistricting, (2011).

Expert Consultant, Prosser for Supreme Court. Wisconsin Supreme Court election recount (2011).

Chair, Blue Ribbon Commission on Clean Elections (Madison, WI), August 2007-April 2011.

Consultant, Consulate of the Government of Japan (Chicago) on state politics in Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, 2006-2011.

Section Head, Presidency Studies, 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Co-Chair, Committee on Redistricting, Supreme Court of Wisconsin, November 2003-December 2009.

Section Head, Presidency and Executive Politics, 2004 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

Presidency Research Group (organized section of the American Political Science Association) Board, September 2002-present.

Book Review Editor, *Congress and the Presidency*, 2001-2006.

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review*, September 2004-September 2007.

Consultant, Governor's Blue Ribbon Commission on Campaign Finance Reform (Wisconsin), 1997.

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Books**

*Presidential Leadership: Politics and Policymaking*, 12<sup>th</sup> edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, forthcoming 2022. With George C. Edwards, III and Steven J. Wayne. Previous editions 10<sup>th</sup> (2018), 11<sup>th</sup> (2020).

*The Enduring Debate: Classic and Contemporary Readings in American Government*. 9<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., forthcoming 2022. Co-edited with David T. Canon and John Coleman. Previous editions 1<sup>st</sup> (1997), 2<sup>nd</sup> (2000), 3<sup>rd</sup> (2002), 4<sup>th</sup> (2006), 5<sup>th</sup> (2009), 6<sup>th</sup> (2011), 7<sup>th</sup> (2013), 8<sup>th</sup> (2017).

*The 2016 Presidential Elections: The Causes and Consequences of an Electoral Earthquake*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2017. Co-edited with Amnon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.

*Faultlines: Readings in American Government*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2017. Co-edited with David T. Canon and John Coleman. Previous editions 1<sup>st</sup> (2004), 2<sup>nd</sup> (2007), 3<sup>rd</sup> (2011), 4<sup>th</sup> (2013).

*The 2012 Presidential Election: Forecasts, Outcomes, and Consequences*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014. Co-edited with Amnon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.

*Readings in American Government*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 2002. Co-edited with Theodore J. Lowi, Benjamin Ginsberg, David T. Canon, and John Coleman). Previous editions 4<sup>th</sup> (1996), 5<sup>th</sup> (1998), 6<sup>th</sup> (2000).

*With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2001. Winner of the 2002 Neustadt Award from the Presidency Studies Group of the American Political Science Association, for the Best Book on the Presidency Published in 2001.

*The Dysfunctional Congress? The Individual Roots of an Institutional Dilemma*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 1999. With David T. Canon.

*The Political Economy of Defense Contracting*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991.



### **Monographs**

- 2008 Election Data Collection Grant Program: Wisconsin Evaluation Report*. Report to the Wisconsin Government Accountability Board, September 2009. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- Issue Advocacy in Wisconsin: Analysis of the 1998 Elections and A Proposal for Enhanced Disclosure*. September 1999.
- Public Financing and Electoral Competition in Minnesota and Wisconsin*. Citizens' Research Foundation, April 1998.
- Campaign Finance Reform in the States*. Report prepared for the Governor's Blue Ribbon Commission on Campaign Finance Reform (State of Wisconsin). February 1998. Portions reprinted in Anthony Corrado, Thomas E. Mann, Daniel Ortiz, Trevor Potter, and Frank J. Sorauf, ed., *Campaign Finance Reform: A Sourcebook*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1997.
- "Does Public Financing of Campaigns Work?" *Trends in Campaign Financing*. Occasional Paper Series, Citizens' Research Foundation, Los Angeles, CA. 1996. With John M. Wood.
- The Development of the Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile: A Case Study of Risk and Reward in Weapon System Acquisition*. N-3620-AF. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. 1993.
- Barriers to Managing Risk in Large Scale Weapons System Development Programs*. N-4624-AF. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation. 1993. With Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., Susan J. Bodilly, Frank Camm, and Timothy J. Webb.

### **Articles**

- "The Random Walk Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 51: 71-95 (2021)
- "Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin - Evidence from the 2016 Election." *Election Law Journal* 18:342-359 (2019). With Michael DeCrescenzo.
- "Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study." *Political Research Quarterly* 71 (2019). With Robert M. Stein, Christopher Mann, Charles Stewart III, et al.
- "Learning from Recounts." *Election Law Journal* 17:100-116 (No. 2, 2018). With Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- "The Complicated Partisan Effects of State Election Laws." *Political Research Quarterly* 70:549-563 (No. 3, September 2017). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- "What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Look Inside Elections." *Public Administration Review* 77:354-364 (No. 3, May/June 2017). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jacob R. Neiheisel.
- "Alien Abduction, and Voter Impersonation in the 2012 U.S. General Election: Evidence from a Survey List Experiment." *Election Law Journal* 13:460-475 No.4, December 2014). With John S. Ahlquist and Simon Jackman.
- "Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform." *American Journal of Political Science*, 58:95-109 (No. 1, January 2014). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan. Winner of the State Politics and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association Award for the best article published in the *AJPS* in 2014.
- "Executive Power in the Obama Administration and the Decision to Seek Congressional Authorization for a Military Attack Against Syria: Implications for Theories of Unilateral Action." *Utah Law Review* 2014:821-841 (No. 4, 2014).
- "Public Election Funding: An Assessment of What We Would Like to Know." *The Forum* 11:365-485 (No. 3, 2013).
- "Selection Method, Partisanship, and the Administration of Elections." *American Politics Research* 41:903-936 (No. 6, November 2013). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane

- Lavertu, and Donald Moynihan.
- “The Effect of Administrative Burden on Bureaucratic Perception of Policies: Evidence from Election Administration.” *Public Administration Review* 72:741-451 (No. 5, September/October 2012). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald Moynihan.
- “Early Voting and Election Day Registration in the Trenches: Local Officials’ Perceptions of Election Reform.” *Election Law Journal* 10:89-102 (No. 2, 2011). With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald Moynihan.
- “Is Political Science Relevant? Ask an Expert Witness,” *The Forum*: Vol. 8, No. 3, Article 6 (2010).
- “Thoughts on the Revolution in Presidency Studies,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (no. 4, December 2009).
- “Does Australia Have a Constitution? Part I – Powers: A Constitution Without Constitutionalism.” *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 25:228-264 (No. 2, Spring 2008). With Howard Schweber.
- “Does Australia Have a Constitution? Part II: The Rights Constitution.” *UCLA Pacific Basin Law Journal* 25:265-355 (No. 2, Spring 2008). With Howard Schweber.
- “Public Election Funding, Competition, and Candidate Gender.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* XL:661-667 (No. 4, October 2007). With Timothy Werner.
- “Do Public Funding Programs Enhance Electoral Competition?” In Michael P. McDonald and John Samples, eds., *The Marketplace of Democracy: Electoral Competition and American Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006). With Timothy Werner and Amanda Williams. Excerpted in Daniel H. Lowenstein, Richard L. Hasen, and Daniel P. Tokaji, *Election Law: Cases and Materials*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2008.
- “The Last 100 Days.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35:533-553 (No. 3, September 2005). With William Howell.
- “Political Reality and Unforeseen Consequences: Why Campaign Finance Reform is Too Important To Be Left To The Lawyers,” *University of Richmond Law Review* 37:1069-1110 (No. 4, May 2003).
- “Unilateral Presidential Powers: Significant Executive Orders, 1949-1999.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32:367-386 (No. 2, June 2002). With Kevin Price.
- “Answering Ayres: Requiring Campaign Contributors to Remain Anonymous Would Not Resolve Corruption Concerns.” *Regulation* 24:24-29 (No. 4, Winter 2001).
- “Student Attitudes Toward Instructional Technology in the Large Introductory US Government Course.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33:597-604 (No. 3 September 2000). With John Coleman.
- “The Limits of Delegation – the Rise and Fall of BRAC.” *Regulation* 22:32-38 (No. 3, October 1999).
- “Executive Orders and Presidential Power.” *The Journal of Politics* 61:445-466 (No.2, May 1999).
- “Bringing Politics Back In: Defense Policy and the Theoretical Study of Institutions and Processes.” *Public Administration Review* 56:180-190 (1996). With Anne Khademian.
- “Closing Military Bases (Finally): Solving Collective Dilemmas Through Delegation.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 20:393-414 (No. 3, August 1995).
- “Electoral Cycles in Federal Government Prime Contract Awards: State-Level Evidence from the 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40:162-185 (No. 1, February 1995).
- “The Impact of Public Financing on Electoral Competitiveness: Evidence from Wisconsin, 1964-1990.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20:69-88 (No. 1, February 1995). With John M. Wood.
- “Policy Disputes as a Source of Administrative Controls: Congressional Micromanagement of the Department of Defense.” *Public Administration Review* 53:293-302 (No. 4, July-August 1993).
- “Combat Aircraft Production in the United States, 1950-2000: Maintaining Industry Capability in an Era of Shrinking Budgets.” *Defense Analysis* 9:159-169 (No. 2, 1993).



### **Book Chapters**

- “Is President Trump Conventionally Disruptive, or Unconventionally Destructive?” In *The 2016 Presidential Elections: The Causes and Consequences of an Electoral Earthquake*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2017. Co-edited with Amon Cavari and Richard J. Powell.
- “Lessons of Defeat: Republican Party Responses to the 2012 Presidential Election. In Amnon Cavari, Richard J. Powell, and Kenneth R. Mayer, eds. *The 2012 Presidential Election: Forecasts, Outcomes, and Consequences*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. 2014.
- “Unilateral Action.” George C. Edwards, III, and William G. Howell, *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- “Executive Orders,” in Joseph Bessette and Jeffrey Tulis, *The Constitutional Presidency*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- “Hey, Wait a Minute: The Assumptions Behind the Case for Campaign Finance Reform.” In Gerald C. Lubenow, ed., *A User’s Guide to Campaign Finance Reform*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
- “Everything You Thought You Knew About Impeachment Was Wrong.” In Leonard V. Kaplan and Beverly I. Moran, ed., *Aftermath: The Clinton Impeachment and the Presidency in the Age of Political Spectacle*. New York: New York University Press. 2001. With David T. Canon.
- “The Institutionalization of Power.” In Robert Y. Shapiro, Martha Joynt Kumar, and Lawrence R. Jacobs, eds. *Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. With Thomas J. Weko.
- “Congressional-DoD Relations After the Cold War: The Politics of Uncertainty.” In *Downsizing Defense*, Ethan Kapstein ed. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 1993.
- “Elections, Business Cycles, and the Timing of Defense Contract Awards in the United States.” In Alex Mintz, ed. *The Political Economy of Military Spending*. London: Routledge. 1991.
- “Patterns of Congressional Influence In Defense Contracting.” In Robert Higgs, ed., *Arms, Politics, and the Economy: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1990.

### **Other**

- “Campaign Finance: Some Basics.” Bauer-Ginsberg Campaign Finance Task Force, Stanford University. September 2017. With Elizabeth M. Sawyer.
- “The Wisconsin Recount May Have a Surprise in Store after All.” *The Monkey Cage* (Washington Post), December 5, 2016. With Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- Review of Jason K. Dempsey, *Our Army: Soldiers, Politicians, and American Civil-Military Relations*. *The Forum* 9 (No. 3, 2011).
- “Voting Early, but Not Often.” *New York Times*, October 25, 2010. With Barry C. Burden.
- Review of John Samples, *The Fallacy of Campaign Finance Reform* and Raymond J. La Raja, *Small Change: Money, Political Parties, and Campaign Finance Reform*. *The Forum* 6 (No. 1, 2008).
- Review Essay, *Executing the Constitution: Putting the President Back Into the Constitution*, Christopher S. Kelley, ed.; *Presidents in Culture: The Meaning of Presidential Communication*, David Michael Ryfe; *Executive Orders and the Modern Presidency: Legislating from the Oval Office*, Adam L. Warber. In *Perspective on Politics* 5:635-637 (No. 3, September 2007).
- “The Base Realignment and Closure Process: Is It Possible to Make Rational Policy?” Brademas Center for the Study of Congress, New York University. 2007.
- “Controlling Executive Authority in a Constitutional System” (comparative analysis of executive power in the U.S. and Australia), manuscript, February 2007.
- “Campaigns, Elections, and Campaign Finance Reform.” *Focus on Law Studies*, XXI, No. 2 (Spring 2006). American Bar Association, Division for Public Education.
- “Review Essay: Assessing The 2000 Presidential Election – Judicial and Social Science Perspectives.” *Congress and the Presidency* 29: 91-98 (No. 1, Spring 2002).

- Issue Briefs (Midterm Elections, Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Budget and Economy; Entitlement Reform) *2006 Reporter's Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2006. With Meghan Condon.
- "Sunlight as the Best Disinfectant: Campaign Finance in Australia." Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University. October 2006.
- "Return to the Norm," *Brisbane Courier-Mail*, November 10, 2006.
- "The Return of the King? Presidential Power and the Law," *PRG Report* XXVI, No. 2 (Spring 2004).
- Issue Briefs (Campaign Finance Reform, Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Budget and Economy; Entitlement Reform), *2004 Reporter's Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2004. With Patricia Strach and Arnold Shober.
- "Where's That Crystal Ball When You Need It? Finicky Voters and Creaky Campaigns Made for a Surprise Electoral Season. And the Fun's Just Begun." *Madison Magazine*. April 2002.
- "Capitol Overkill." *Madison Magazine*, July 2002.
- Issue Briefs (Homeland Security; Foreign Affairs and Defense Policy; Education; Economy, Budget and Taxes; Social Welfare Policy), *2002 Reporter's Source Book*. Project Vote Smart. 2002. With Patricia Strach and Paul Manna.
- "Presidential Emergency Powers." *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief*. December 18, 2001.
- "An Analysis of the Issue of Issue Ads." *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 7, 1999.
- "Background of Issue Ad Controversy." *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 7, 1999.
- "Eliminating Public Funding Reduces Election Competition." *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 27, 1999.
- Review of *Executive Privilege: The Dilemma of Secrecy and Democratic Accountability*, by Mark J. Rozell. *Congress and the Presidency* 24 (No. 1, 1997).
- "Like Marriage, New Presidency Starts In Hope." *Wisconsin State Journal*. March 31, 1996.
- Review of *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*, by Lani Guinier. *Congress and the Presidency* 21: 149-151 (No. 2, 1994).
- Review of *The Best Defense: Policy Alternatives for U.S. Nuclear Security From the 1950s to the 1990s*, by David Goldfischer. *Science, Technology, and Environmental Politics Newsletter* 6 (1994).
- Review of *The Strategic Defense Initiative*, by Edward Reiss. *American Political Science Review* 87:1061-1062 (No. 4, December 1993).
- Review of *The Political Economy of Defense: Issues and Perspectives*, Andrew L. Ross ed. *Armed Forces and Society* 19:460-462 (No. 3, April 1993)
- Review of *Space Weapons and the Strategic Defense Initiative*, by Crockett Grabbe. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 527: 193-194 (May 1993).
- "Limits Wouldn't Solve the Problem." *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 5, 1992. With David T. Canon.
- "Convention Ceded Middle Ground." *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 23, 1992.
- "CBS Economy Poll Meaningless." *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 3, 1992.
- "It's a Matter of Character: Pentagon Doesn't Need New Laws, it Needs Good People." *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 1988.

### **Conference Papers**

- "Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin – Evidence from the 2016 Election." Presented at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL April 5-8, 2018. With Michael G. DeCrescenzo.
- "Learning from Recounts." Presented at the Workshop on Electoral Integrity, San Francisco, CA, August 30, 2017, and at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017. With Stephen Ansolabehere, Barry C. Burden, and Charles Stewart, III.
- "What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Understand Irregularities at the Polls." Conference on New Research on Election Administration and Reform, Massachusetts

- Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, June 8, 2015. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jake R. Neiheisel.
- “Election Laws and Partisan Gains: What are the Effects of Early Voting and Same Day Registration on the Parties’ Vote Shares.” 2013 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 11-14, 2013. Winner of the Robert H. Durr Award.
- “The Effect of Public Funding on Electoral Competition: Evidence from the 2008 and 2010 Cycles.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011. With Amnon Cavari.
- “What Happens at the Polling Place: A Preliminary Analysis in the November 2008 General Election.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Donald P. Moynihan, and Jake R. Neiheisel.
- “Election Laws, Mobilization, and Turnout: The Unanticipated Consequences of Election Reform.” 2010 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “Selection Methods, Partisanship, and the Administration of Elections. Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22-25, 2010. Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association, June 16-19, 2011, Dublin, Ireland. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, Stéphane Lavertu and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “The Effects and Costs of Early Voting, Election Day Registration, and Same Day Registration in the 2008 Elections.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 3-5, 2009. With Barry C. Burden, David T. Canon, and Donald P. Moynihan.
- “Comparative Election Administration: Can We Learn Anything From the Australian Electoral Commission?” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2007.
- “Electoral Transitions in Connecticut: Implementation of Public Funding for State Legislative Elections.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2007. With Timothy Werner.
- “Candidate Gender and Participation in Public Campaign Finance Programs.” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 7-10, 2005. With Timothy Werner.
- “Do Public Funding Programs Enhance Electoral Competition?” 4<sup>th</sup> Annual State Politics and Policy Conference,” Akron, OH, April 30-May 1, 2004. With Timothy Werner and Amanda Williams.
- “The Last 100 Days.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003. With William Howell.
- “Hey, Wait a Minute: The Assumptions Behind the Case for Campaign Finance Reform.” Citizens’ Research Foundation Forum on Campaign Finance Reform, Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California Berkeley. August 2000.
- “The Importance of Moving First: Presidential Initiative and Executive Orders.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 28-September 1, 1996.
- “Informational vs. Distributive Theories of Legislative Organization: Committee Membership and Defense Policy in the House.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 1993.
- “Department of Defense Contracts, Presidential Elections, and the Political-Business Cycle.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 1993.
- “Problem? What Problem? Congressional Micromanagement of the Department of Defense.” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 29 - September 2, 1991.

### **Talks and Presentations**

- “Turnout Effects of Voter ID Laws.” Rice University, March 23, 2018; Wisconsin Alumni Association,

October 13, 2017. With Michael DeCrescenzo.

“Informational and Turnout Effects of Voter ID Laws.” Wisconsin State Elections Commission, December 12, 2017; Dane County Board of Supervisors, October 26, 2017. With Michael DeCrescenzo.

“Voter Identification and Nonvoting in Wisconsin, Election 2016. American Politics Workshop, University of Wisconsin, Madison, November 24, 2017.

“Gerrymandering: Is There A Way Out?” Marquette University. October 24, 2017.

“What Happens in the Districting Room and What Happens in the Courtroom” Geometry of Redistricting Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison October 12, 2017.

“How Do You Know? The Epistemology of White House Knowledge.” Clemson University, February 23, 2016.

Roundtable Discussant, Separation of Powers Conference, School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, February 19-20, 2016.

Campaign Finance Task Force Meeting, Stanford University, February 4, 2016.

Discussant, “The Use of Unilateral Powers.” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-31, 2014, Washington, DC.

Presenter, “Roundtable on Money and Politics: What do Scholars Know and What Do We Need to Know?” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 28-September 1, 2013, Chicago, IL.

Presenter, “Roundtable: Evaluating the Obama Presidency.” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, April 11-14, 2012, Chicago, IL.

Panel Participant, “Redistricting in the 2010 Cycle,” Midwest Democracy Network,

Speaker, “Redistricting and Election Administration,” Dane County League of Women Voters, March 4, 2010.

Keynote Speaker, “Engaging the Electorate: The Dynamics of Politics and Participation in 2008.” Foreign Fulbright Enrichment Seminar, Chicago, IL, March 2008.

Participant, Election Visitor Program, Australian Electoral Commission, Canberra, ACT, Australia. November 2007.

Invited Talk, “Public Funding in State and Local Elections.” Reed College Public Policy Lecture Series. Portland, Oregon, March 19, 2007.

Fulbright Distinguished Chair Lecture Tour, 2006. Public lectures on election administration and executive power. University of Tasmania, Hobart (TAS); Flinders University and University of South Australia, Adelaide (SA); University of Melbourne, Melbourne (VIC); University of Western Australia, Perth (WA); Griffith University and University of Queensland, Brisbane (QLD); Institute for Public Affairs, Sydney (NSW); The Australian National University, Canberra (ACT).

Discussant, “Both Ends of the Avenue: Congress and the President Revisited,” American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2-5, 2004, Chicago, IL.

Presenter, “Researching the Presidency,” Short Course, American Political Science Association Meeting, September 2-5, 2004, Chicago, IL.

Discussant, Conference on Presidential Rhetoric, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX. February 2004.

Presenter, “Author Meets Author: New Research on the Presidency,” 2004 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, January 8-11, New Orleans, LA.

Chair, “Presidential Secrecy,” American Political Science Association Meeting, August 28-31, 2003, Philadelphia, PA.

Discussant, “New Looks at Public Approval of Presidents.” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 3-6, 2003, Chicago, IL.

Discussant, “Presidential Use of Strategic Tools.” American Political Science Association Meeting, August 28-September 1, 2002, Boston, MA.

Chair and Discussant, “Branching Out: Congress and the President.” Midwest Political Science



Association Meeting, April 19-22, 2001, Chicago, IL.  
 Invited witness, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Commercial and Administrative Law, U.S. House of Representatives. *Hearing on Executive Order and Presidential Power*, Washington, DC. March 22, 2001.  
 “The History of the Executive Order,” Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia (with Griffin Bell and William Howell), January 26, 2001.  
 Presenter and Discussant, Future Voting Technologies Symposium, Madison, WI May 2, 2000.  
 Moderator, Panel on Electric Utility Reliability. Assembly Staff Leadership Development Seminar, Madison, WI. August 11, 1999.  
 Chair, Panel on “Legal Aspects of the Presidency: Clinton and Beyond.” Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, April 15-17, 1999, Chicago, IL.  
 Session Moderator, National Performance Review Acquisition Working Summit, Milwaukee, WI. June 1995.  
 American Politics Seminar, The George Washington University, Washington D.C., April 1995.  
 Invited speaker, Defense and Arms Control Studies Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, March 1994.  
 Discussant, International Studies Association (Midwest Chapter) Annual Meeting, Chicago IL, October 29-30, 1993.  
 Seminar on American Politics, Princeton University, January 16-17, 1992.  
 Conference on Defense Downsizing and Economic Conversion, October 4, 1991, Harvard University.  
 Conference on Congress and New Foreign and Defense Policy Challenges, The Ohio State University, Columbus OH, September 21-22, 1990, and September 19-21, 1991.  
 Presenter, "A New Look at Short Term Change in Party Identification," 1990 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

### **University and Department Service**

Cross-Campus Human Research Protection Program (HRPP) Advisory Committee, 2019-present.  
 UW Athletic Board, 2014-present.  
 General Education Requirements Committee (Letters and Science), 1997-1998.  
 Communications-B Implementation Committee (Letters and Science), 1997-1999  
 Verbal Assessment Committee (University) 1997-1998.  
 College of Letters & Science Faculty Appeals Committee (for students dismissed for academic reasons).  
 Committee on Information Technology, Distance Education and Outreach, 1997-98.  
 Hilldale Faculty-Student Research Grants, Evaluation Committee, 1997, 1998.  
 Department Computer Committee, 1996-1997; 1997-1998, 2005-2006. Chair, 2013-present.  
 Faculty Senate, 2000-2002, 2002-2005. Alternate, 1994-1995; 1996-1999; 2015-2016.  
 Preliminary Exam Appeals Committee, Department of Political Science, 1994-1995.  
 Faculty Advisor, Pi Sigma Alpha (Political Science Honors Society), 1993-1994.  
 Department Honors Advisor, 1991-1993.  
 Brown-bag Seminar Series on Job Talks (for graduate students), 1992.  
 Keynote speaker, Undergraduate Honors Symposium, April 13 1991.  
 Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, Department of Political Science, 1990-1992; 1993-1994.  
 Individual Majors Committee, College of Letters and Sciences, 1990-1991.  
 Dean Reading Room Committee, Department of Political Science, 1989-1990; 1994-1995.

### **Teaching**

#### **Undergraduate**

Introduction to American Government (regular and honors)  
 The American Presidency  
 Campaign Finance  
 Election Law

Classics of American Politics  
Presidential Debates  
Comparative Electoral Systems  
Legislative Process  
Theories of Legislative Organization  
Senior Honors Thesis Seminar

Graduate

Contemporary Presidency  
American National Institutions  
Classics of American Politics  
Legislative Process